

## Message Text

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INFO AMCONSUL MONTREAL PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL TORONTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L QUEBEC 0031

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, CA  
SUBJECT: RENE THE JUGGLER

1. WITH PRIME MINISTER LEVESQUE NOW VISITING NEW YORK, IT  
MAY BE USEFUL TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE CONFLICTING AUDIENCES  
TO WHOM HE MUST APPEAL AND WHOSE INTERESTS HE MUST ATTEMPT  
TO RECONCILE.

2. THE ATTITUDE OF THE BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL COMMUNITY  
-BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC-IS OF PRIME IMPORTANCE AT THE OUTSET  
OF THE PQ MINISTRY. THE ECONOMIC HEALTH AND PROSPERITY OF  
QUEBEC AND ITS PEOPLE DEPEND TO A GREAT EXTENT ON THIS  
CONSTITUENCY WHICH IS MAINLY NON-FRANCOPHONE AND OFTEN  
FOREIGN. LEVESQUE'S PRESENCE IN NEW YORK AS WELL AS STATEMENTS  
BY SEVERAL OF HIS CABINET COLLEAGUES DEMONSTRATE GOQ AWARENESS  
OF THE IMPORTANCE OF INVESTOR CONFIDENCE AND THE QUEBEC  
LEADERS. DETERMINATION TO REASSURE THIS AUDIENCE.

3. A SECOND IMPORTANT CONSTITUENCY FOR LEVESQUE IS COMPOSED  
OF HARD CORE NATIONALISTS MANY OF WHOM ARE ALSO DEDICATED TO  
RADICAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE. THIS GROUP FORMS A MILITANT  
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AND HIGHLY VOCAL MINORITY WITHIN HIS PARTY. WHILE THEY NUMBER  
ONLY SOME 15-20 PERCENT OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP, THEY ARE AMONG  
THE MOST ACTIVE PARTY WORKERS AND HAVE BEEN PROMINENT IN PARTY  
AFFAIRS SINCE ITS FORMATION. LEVESQUE CANNOT AFFORD TO ALIENATE  
THIS GROUP IN AN ABRUPT OR BRUTAL MANNER. ALTHOUGH THEY  
DO NOT THEMSELVES OCCUPY MANY IMPORTANT POSITIONS WITHIN PARTY,  
THEY ARE VIEWED BY MANY WITHIN PARTY WHO DO NOT SHARE THEIR

IDEOLOGICAL VIEW AS DEDICATED, HONORABLE IDEALISTS. SHOULD LEADERSHIP APPEAR TREAT THEM SHABBILY IT COULD RUN RISK OF A SERIOUS SCHISM. THE PQ IS NOT AN ORDINARY NORTH AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTY, IT IS A NATIONALIST MOVEMENT BASED, TO A LARGE EXTENT, ON THE IDEALISTIC FERVOR OF ITS MEMBERS. THUS MANY MEMBERS ARE LIKELY TO REBELL AGAINST ANYTHING THEY REGARDED AS SOILING THE PURITY OF THEIR CRUSADE. ANY BREAKS WITH THE PARTY'S RADICAL MINORITY THEREFORE SHOULD BE HANDLED SO AS TO APPEAR THE RESULT OF RADICAL UNREASONABLENESS, AND NOT OPPORTUNISTIC MANEUVRING BY POLITICAL OPERATORS.

4. THE THIRD CONSTITUENCY IS MADE UP OF THE MASS OF FRANCO-PHONE VOTERS. WHILE A MAJORITY VOTED FOR THE PQ IN THE LAST ELECTION AND HAVE LITTLE EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO CANADIAN FEDERALISM, MANY STILL HAVE LINGERING DOUBTS AS TO THE ABILITY OF QUEBEC TO GO IT ALONE IN A WORLD WHICH OFTEN APPEARS TO THEM AS HOSTILE. MOST ARE CONSERVATIVE AND SUSPICIOUS OF RADICAL SOLUTIONS, THEY FEAR THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF A BREAK WITH THE FAMILIAR, COMFORTABLE EXISTENCE THEY HAVE ENJOYED AS MEMBERS OF AN AFFLUENT CANADIAN UNION. IT IS THIS HESITANT MIDDLE SEGMENT OF THE POPULATION THAT THE GOQ MUST CARRY WITH IT, IF THE PARTY'S GOAL OF INDEPENDENCE IS TO BE REALIZED.

5. CLEARLY, THERE IS DANGER OF CONFLICT ARISING AS A RESULT OF THE ASSURANCES THE GOVERNMENT MUST GIVE FINANCIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND THE IDEOLOGICALLY BASED ASPIRATIONS OF THE RADICAL ELEMENTS IN THE PARTY. TO SECURE ALLEGEANCE OF MASS OF VOTERS TO PQ POLITICAL GOALS LEVESQUE AND HIS COLLEAGUES MUST

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CONVINCE THEM THAT THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES WILL NOT BE DISASTEROUS. THIS CAN BE MOST CONVINCINGLY ACCOMPLISHED BY A DEMONSTRATION OF BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL CONFIDENCE IN PQ GOVERNMENT. THIS, DELICATE BALANCING BETWEEN AUDIENCES WILL BE REQUIRED TO PREVENT PREMATURE DISSENT ON ONE HAND AND LOSS OF CONFIDENCE ON THE OTHER. GOQ HAS LAUNCHED SERIES OF MINISTERIAL SPEECHES, OF WHICH LEVESQUE'S NEW YORK ADDRESS IS CENTER PIECE, AIMED AT REASSURING INVESTORS AND BUSINESSMEN. AT SAME TIME, OTHER MINISTERS HAVE ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO EXPAND SOCIAL AND HEALTH PROGRAMS. THIS JUGGLING OF APPEALS TO RIGHT AND LEFT COUPLED WITH AUTHORITY LEVESQUE NOW ENJOYS AFTER LEADING PARTY TO STUNNING ELECTORAL VICTORY, SHOULD BE POTENT ENOUGH TO RESTRAIN OPEN DESERT FOR TIME BEING WHILE EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO REASSURE VITAL SOURCES OF FINANCE.

6. NONETHELESS, EVENTUAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN MODERATES AND RADICALS WITHIN PQ IS VIRTUALLY INEVITABLE. SOME LEADERS, SUCH AS CLAUDE MORIN, HAVE LONG ACCEPTED INEVITABILITY OF CONFLICT

AND PROBABILITY THAT A "SMALL NUMBER" OF RADICALS WOULD ULTIMATELY LEAVE PARTY. TIMING OF CONFRONTATION COULD BE IMPORTANT TO THE FUTURE OF PQ GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROGRAMS. SEEMS DOUBTFUL LEVESQUE WISHES MESSY INTERNAL FIGHT SO SOON AFTER ELECTION VICTORY. HE WILL ATTEMPT CHOOSE TO DEGREE POSSIBLE TIME AND PLACE FOR CONFRONTATION TO MAXIMIZE HIS ADVANTAGE. WE BELIEVE PARTY CONGRESS SCHEDULED FOR NEXT MAY IS LOGICAL LOCUS FOR IDEOLOGICAL BATTLES. MODERATE LEADERSHIP MUST AT THAT TIME MOVE TO MODIFY PARTY PROGRAM BY REJECTING REMANANTS OF EARLIER RADICAL PROGRAMS AND FURTHER REORIENTING PARTY PLATFORM TOWARDS ADVOCACY OF PROGRAMS WHICH APPEAL TO MODERATE MAJORITY AND WHICH REASSURE INVESTMENT AND BUSINESS COMMUNITIES. RADICALS MUST RESIST THIS CHALLENGE. RENE LEVESQUE IS NO DOUBT ALREADY PREPARING A CAREFUL STRATEGY AIMED AT LIMITING DAMAGE FROM DEFECTIONS ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS WHILE CREATING THE IMAGE OF A PARTY CLEANSED OF ITS EARLIER RADICALISM AND UNDER FIRM CONTROL.

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6. THIS CONFRONTATION WITH HIS PARTY'S RADICAL MINORITY LOOMS AS THE NEXT MAJOR HURDLE HE MUST SURMOUNT IN PREPARING FOR THE REFERENDUM TO BE HELD SOMETIME WITHIN NEXT 2-4 YEARS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE PREMIER MEANS TO CONTINUE TO BE SOMEWHAT VAGUE AND OFTEN AMBIGUOUS IN AN ATTEMPT TO JUGGLE HIS AUDIENCES TO THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT WHILE BUILDING CONFIDENCE AMONG MASS OF FRANCOPHONES IN CENTER. THIS MAY IN PART EXPLAIN HIS RELUCTANCE TO GO MUCH BEYOND GENERALITIES IN HIS ASSURANCES TO NEW YORK FINANCIERS LAST EVENING.

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